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Art. XVII.—*On the Declensional Features of the North Indian Vernaculars, compared with the Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit.* By the Rev. Dr. E. Trumpp, C.M.S.

Nothing is more important for the right understanding and analysis of the North Indian vernaculars, than a thorough comparison of their minute details with their noble mother-tongue, and the two intermediate languages, which we call Pāli and Prākrit. Many things, which have hitherto remained doubtful, will thereby receive light, and their true structure will be laid open, if we take the trouble to follow the old Prākrit down into its more modern branches. It is unquestionable that we shall never be able to decide what words in the modern vernaculars are of Sanskrit origin, and what are derived from some foreign (Tatar) source, until we have accurately defined the laws by which the system of sounds is regulated in the present (Sanskritical) vulgar tongues of India. An attempt of this kind I have made in an essay, entitled *The Sindhī System of Sounds, &c.*, published in the "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. xv. 4. It is my object in the present essay to show in what way the modern tongues of India[1] have supplied their declensional necessities, and how far their method is in accordance with Sanskrit or Prākrit usage; from this will follow, naturally, how far they have a claim to be considered true daughters of their common mother, the Sanskrit-Prākrit. We shall also find occasion, in the course of the following investigation, to oppose some claims which have lately been made in the name of the Drāvidian tongues of South India, and vindicate the original structure of the northern tongues, independent of any Drāvidian influences. As we tread on ground which has, to our knowledge, never been investigated, many of our conclusions may prove abortive, for which we beg the reader's kind indulgence.

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[1] When speaking here of *the modern tongues of India*, I exclude throughout the *South Indian* or *Drāvidian* tongues, as being foreign to our object.

SECTION I.

ON THE FORMATION OF THE THEMES IN THE MODERN INDIAN VERNACULARS.

Before we can enter on our main question, the investigation of the declensional features of the modern Indian tongues, we must premise a short discourse on the *formation of the themes*, or the *terminations of nouns;* their declensional peculiarity mainly depending on this point, as in all other languages with regular inflexions. In order to throw any light on this difficult and intricate subject, we must strictly compare them with the Prākrit formation of themes, on which the modern tongues are still built up in their main features.

Among the present vernaculars none holds a more prominent position than the *Sindhī*, which resembles the old Prākrit more than any of its sister dialects ; for our present purpose we shall therefore place the *Sindhī* foremost, more especially as the Sindhī has preserved a *vocalic termination for every noun*, which greatly facilitates its declensional process, whereas in most instances its sisters have already dropped a *final vowel*, and thereby greatly changed the crude form of the noun.

I. *Themes in* u *and* ŭ.

The most common termination of Sanskrit nouns is that in ŭ (अ:) which in certain positions had become already ō in Sanskrit ; in *Pāli* and Prākrit the termination ō alone was in use. According to the old Prākrit grammarians this Pāli-Prākrit termination ō was already shortened to u in the Apabhransha dialect, which is the immediate source of the modern Sindhī ;[1] we find, therefore, in Sindhī all those words ending in u which terminate in ओ in Prākrit ; e.g., नरु masc. 'a man,' Prāk. नरो, Sans. नर: ; कम्मु masc. 'business,' Prāk. कम्मो, Sans. कर्मन् ; जनमु masc. 'birth,' Prāk. जम्मो, Sans. जम्मन्.

To this class belong in Sindhī also the nouns which end in a *con-sonant* in Sanskrit, but which either drop the same in Prākrit or add

a final ओ, as Sindhī जमु masc. 'fame,' Prāk. जसो, Sans. यशम्; सिरु masc. 'head,' Prāk. सिरं, in Sans. शिरस्; सरउ fem. 'autumn,' Prāk. सरदो, Sans. शरद्; विजु fem. 'light-ning,' Prāk. विज्जू, Sans. विद्युत्.

Further, have been classed under this head in Sindhī all those Sanskrit nouns (masculine, feminine, and neuter) which end in u, as Sindhī वाउ masc. 'wind,' Sanskrit वायु masc.; मदु masc. 'spirits,' 'liquor,' Sans. मधु neut.; वथु fem. 'thing,' Sanskrit वस्तु fem.

Themes ending in Sanskrit in ऋ change it in Prākrit either into उ, or form a new basis by adding आरो; accord-ingly we find in Sindhī forms as : पिउ masc. 'father,' भाउ masc. 'brother,' Prākrit already भाउ (the द being regularly elided in Sindhī, etc.); माउ fem. 'mother,' Prāk. माआ; धिउ fem. 'daughter,' Prāk. धीदा, the Sindhī having followed a levelling method, and forming the feminines alike as the masculines; भतारु 'husband,' Sans. भर्त्तृ.

Some nouns, which end originally in ū, have it shortened in Sindhī, as ससु fem. 'mother-in-law,' Sans. श्वश्रू; exceptional is भेणु or भेण 'sister,' Prāk. बहिणी.

From the examples just given here, it will be seen that the Sindhī has preserved only *two* genders, the *masculine* and *feminine*; the *neuter* is already discarded, and generally classed under the *masculines*, less frequently under the *feminines*, which we find already done in the inferior Prākrit dialects. The termination in u is, therefore, on the whole, masculine, with a few exceptions, which are feminine, and which follow a different method in declension. If we turn to the cognate dialects, we find that the Marāthi has preserved the original Sanskrit termination in अ (yet without Visarga), which, how-ever, is never heard, except when being preceded by a double consonant,

of which म is not the first part, or by व and प, when it is slightly pronounced, as हात masc. 'hand,' hāt; but संग्रय doubt, sanshaya; युग्म 'a pair,' yugma. The *neuter* has been preserved in Marāṭhī, but final म or Anusvāra has been dropped, and outwardly masculines and neuters fall therefore together under this ending, as सत्य neut. 'truth,' कल्याण masc. 'happiness,' सुंदरपण neut. 'beauty,' etc. The Marāṭhī has also retained forms like साधु 'a saint,' मधु masc. 'honey,' धेनु fem. 'a cow,' which may be classified under this head, but which we better refer to the termination ū, as we shall see here- after. The same holds good in *Bengālī*, where the original Sanskrit termination in अ has been preserved, just as in Marāṭhī, but which is generally quiescent, except when preceded by a *double consonant*, as dūt, 'a messenger' (=dūta), but puttra, 'a son,' etc. The *neuter* has been likewise retained in Bengālī, but without any particular ending as in Marāṭhī, as all *inanimate* things, irrespective of the original Sanskrit gender, are considered *neuter*.

We next come to the *Gujarātī*, which agrees in all these points with the Marāṭhī and Bengālī, with the only difference that all nouns which fall under this head end in a *quiescent* consonant; the *masculine* and *neuter*, which has been likewise retained in Gujarātī, are no longer distinguished by a peculiar termination, but both end in a quiescent consonant, as सुरज् masc. 'the sun;' चंद्र masc. 'the moon;' पेट neut. 'the belly;' नाक् masc. 'the nose;' उतर neut. 'the north,' etc.

In *Hindūstānī*, *Hindī*, and *Panjābī* the final अ or उ has been completely discarded, and all those nouns end in a quiescent consonant, as Hindī काम् 'business,' Panjābī 'kamm;' Hindī मनुख् masc. man,' Panjābī 'manukkh,' etc. The *neuter* has been thrown off in Hindūstānī, Hindī, and Panjābī, and original Sanskrit neuters are made either *masculine* or *feminine*.

II. *Themes in* ū *and* ā (*masc.*)

We have noticed already that in *Pāli* and *Prākrit* the Sanskrit termination अ: becomes ओ without exception, and that final ओ is again shortened to ŭ in the Apabhransha dialect, resp. the *Sindhī*. The Sindhī, however, has not been consequent in this change, but many words have retained the original Pāli-Prākrit termination in ओ. The language seems to have operated in this respect quite arbitrarily, as no rule can be traced out why some nouns have shortened ओ into उ, and why others again have retained it unaltered; every thing seems to be dependant on usage ; in many instances both endings are in use at the same time or interchanged ; *e.g.*, Sindhī तरो masc. 'the sole of a shoe,' Sans. तलं neut. ; गलो masc. 'the throat,' Sans. गल masc. ; whereas on the other hand गुलु 'cheek,' corresponds to the Sans. 'crude,' गल्ल masc. ; लुड़कु 'luṛku' or लुड़को 'luṛko,' tear; सोनारो masc. 'goldsmith,' Sans. सुवर्णकार ; on the other hand लोहारु masc. 'blacksmith,' or लुहारु, Sans. लोहकार. In some instances the language has made use of these two different terminations to derive words of different significations from one and the same basis, as Sindhī चूरो masc. 'powder,' 'filings,' and चूरु adj. 'powdered,' 'broken to atoms,' both from the Sans. चूर्ण; मथो masc. 'the head,' and मथु 'the top of anything,' both from the Sans. मस्तं neut.

We may, however, lay down some general rules by which the Sindhī seems to have been guided in retaining the original Prākrit termination ओ :

1. *Adjectives* derived directly from the Sanskrit-Prākrit have on the whole retained the ending in ओ, as Sindhī चङो 'good,' Sans. चङ्ग; मिठो 'sweet,' Sans. मिष्ट; खारो 'bitter,' 'salty;' on the other hand खारु 'subst.,' masc. 'potash,' both derived from the

Sans. चार adj. and sub. masc. रुखो 'hard,' 'rough,' Sans. रूच्च.
Some adjectives change as to their terminations, *e.g.* अभरू or
अभरो 'poor,' 'indigent;' अधरू or अधरो 'helpless;' निधरू or
निधरो 'wretched;' few end only in u, as चूरू 'pulverized,' with
the exception of such adjectives as have been borrowed from other
languages, which take u as the nearest vocalic ending, as गरीबु
'poor,' 'humble,' Arabic غَرِيب

Adjectives derived by secondary affixes from substantives, generally
retain the termination ओ, as जटिको relating to a जटु 'jaṭ;'
रतोको 'of last night;' चोराणो 'belonging to a thief' (चोरू);
रसीलो 'juicy;' खांधीरो 'patient;' माह्यो 'relating to a buffalo'
(मेंह्हि); डुह्हिलो, डुह्हेरो or डुह्हलो 'painful.'

Excepted is the affix वानु, Prāk. वन्तो, Sans. वत्, as दयवानु
'merciful;' Marāṭhī ditto, वान् as गाडीवान् masc. 'a coachman,'
from गाडी 'a coach or cart;' but Gujarātī वन्त् as दआवन्त् adj.
'compassionate;' likewise the affix आलु, as दयालु 'compassio-
nate,' and आरू, when forming substantives, as धनारू 'a herdsman;'
whereas the affix आरो forms generally adjectives, as सघारो
'strong,' from सघ fem. 'strength;' अन्यारो 'having eggs,' from
आनी fem. 'egg.'

2. Verbal nouns, which are derived from the root of the verb, by
lengthening the vowel of the root, according to Sanskrit usage, can take
the termination in ओ as :

घाटो masc. 'decreasing,' from inf. घटणु 'to decrease.'

चाड्हो masc. 'increase,' from inf. चड्हणु 'to rise.'

झगिड्रो masc. 'quarrel,' from inf. झगिड्णु 'to quarrel.'

Besides this the ending in u is equally in use, as मर्कु masc. 'boast-

ing,' from मर्कणु 'to boast,' झटु masc. 'snatch,' from झटणु 'to snatch,' etc.

3. Nouns of agency, which are derived from the verbal root by changing a into ā (Vriddhi), i into ī, and u into ō (Guṇa), with the affix अक, the क of which is again elided in Sindhī, take the termination ओ, as:

वाढो 'a carpenter' (Hind. बढ़ई), from वढणु 'to cut' (wood).

टोबो 'a diver,' from टुबणु 'to dive.'

चाड़्हो 'a climber,' from चड़्हणु 'to ascend,' 'to climb.'

4. Some nouns of foreign origin, which change final ā or ah to ō in Sindhī, as बाबो 'father,' Hindī बाबा, Turkish; दर्वाजो 'door,' Persian دروازه

5. All the participles present, ending in Sindhī in अदो or ईंदो (Prāk. अन्तो Sans. अत्), as Sindhī हलंदो 'going;' मरींदो 'beating;' Hindī ता, as वोलता (by throwing out the nasal); Marāṭhī ditto ता; Panjābī 'dā.'

6. It is seldom the case that an original final ā (fem.) has been changed into ō, and rendered thereby *masculine,* in the modern Arian tongues, as Sindhī तारो masc. 'star,' Hindī तारा masc., Sans. तारा fem.; Persian ستاره and thence Pushto ستوري 'storai,' masc. In Marāṭhī तारा is both masc. and fem.

In Sindhī all nouns ending in ओ, are *without exception masculine,* just as well as in Pāli and Prākrit. If we turn to the cognate dialects, we find that the *Gujarātī* nearest resembles the Sindhī. Nearly all the nouns which end in Sindhī in ओ, have retained the same termination in Gujarātī; others again end in Gujarātī in ओ, which in Sindhī have shortened it into u, as Gujarātī घोड़ो ghōḍō, 'a horse,'

Sindhī घोड़ो ghōṛō ; Gujarātī हीरो masc. 'a diamond,' Sindī ditto हीरो ; but Gujarātī छोकरो 'a lad,' Sindhī छोकरु or छोकरो Hindī छोकरा ; Gujarātī दरीओ 'sea,' Sindhī दर्याहु, Persian دريا

As the Gujarātī has retained the *neuter*, it forms a regular neutral termination in उं from the masculine nouns ending in ओ, as कुतरुं neut. 'a dog,' (generally) masc. कुतरो masc. 'a male dog;' डाह्यपणं, neut. 'wisdom,' the affix पणं corresponding to the Sindhī abstract affix पणो,[1] which is masculine. This neutral termination in Gujarātī we consider identical with the Sindhī ending in u, with the only difference that in Gujarātī the sign of the neuter (Anusvāra) has been retained.

If we turn to the *Marāṭhī, Hindī,* and *Panjābī,* we find that the final ओ of the Sindhī and Gujarātī has been changed to आ in these dialects: as Marāṭhī[2] मामा masc. 'a paternal uncle,' Hindī ditto मामा, Panjābī 'māmmā;' Marāṭhī काका 'a paternal uncle,' Hindī ditto काका, Panjābī 'kākā, an elder brother,' Sindhī काको· The same feature we notice in regard to *adjectives,* as Marāṭhī चांगला[3] 'good,' Hindī चङ्गा Panjābī 'changā.' The Hindī and Panjābī have lost the use of the *neuter,* but the Marāṭhī, which has retained it, forms from the termination आ a regular neutral ending in ऊं, which is in its origin again nothing but another masculine termination with the neutral sign of Anusvāra (see Lassen's *Institutiones Linguæ Prakriticae,* p. 429, 14), similar to the Gujarātī neutral ending in उं ;

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[1] Regarding this affix and its origin from the Sanskrit abstract affix त्व see my Essay "On the Formation of Themes in the Modern Arian Tongues :" German Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xvi.

[2] Some few nouns have the ending ō in Marāṭhī too, as लाहो masc. 'covetousness;' Sindhī likewise लाहो; बायको fem. 'a wife.'

[3] The affix ला in Marāṭhī adjectives corresponds to the Prākrit affix ल, see Varar, iv., 26, Cowell's edition.

as : केलं neut. 'a plantain,' Hindī केला ; करणं neut. 'doing,' properly a verbal noun, Sindhī करणु, Hindī करना, Gujarātī करण or करणुं ; चांगलें neut. adj. 'good,' from masculine चांगला.

In Bengālī, the termination ā is found only in a few words, as gādhā 'an ass,' ghōṛā 'a horse.'

III. *Themes in ā (fem.) and some in ā masc.*

Nouns which end in ā are, as in Sanskrit and Prākrit, generally feminines ; this termination has been retained throughout all the modern Arian tongues of India. Sindhī, चिंता fem. 'anxiety,' 'thoughtfulness ;' Hindī चिन्ता or चिन्त् fem. (by shortening ā into ă, and then dropping it altogether), etc. ; हत्या fem. 'murder,' Sans. हत्या ; जात्रा fem. 'pilgrimage,' Sans. यात्रा ; खिमा fem. 'patience,' Prāk. खमा, Sans. चमा.

There exists a small number of masculine nouns ending in आ which must not be confounded with the preceding termination in ā (corresponding to the Prākrit ending in ओ) ; they are the nom. sing. forms of Sanskrit bases ending in अन् and ऋ. as the Sanskrit crude forms are never used in the modern tongues of India, as : Sindhī राजा 'a prince,' Marāṭhī राजा, Hindī likewise राजा, etc. ; आत्मा masc. 'soul ;' कर्ता 'the agent' (in grammar) ;[1] also some foreign words which terminate in ā, as : आश्रा masc. 'an acquaintance,' Persian آشنا.

IV. *Themes in ă.*

The ending ă is shortened in *Sindhī* from the feminine termination in ā, and is generally used to derive feminines from the masculines ending in u, as : कुभु 'unfortunate,' fem. कुभ ; सुज्ञाणु 'well-knowing,' fem. सुज्ञाण ; in substantives, as Sindhī जिभ fem. 'tongue,' Prāk. जीहा, Sans. जिह्वा ; नुह 'daughter-in-law,' Sans. स्नुषा ;

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[1] In Hindī and Marāṭhī also forms like पिता masc. 'father,' माता fem. 'mother,' etc.

धिअ 'daughter,' Prāk. धीदा; आसीस fem. 'blessing,' Prāk.
आसिसा from the Sanskrit आशिस्; हेडु Turmeric, Prāk. हलहृा
from the Sanskrit हलहृी ;¹ a great many abstract verbal nouns are
formed on the same principle (corresponding to the Sanskrit affix
अङ्, forming abstract feminine nouns from verbs), as : चोख 'inves-
tigation, from चोखणु 'to investigate;' पर्खं fem. 'examination,'
from पर्खंणु; in fact nearly from every Sindhī infinitive an abstract
noun may be derived in this manner.

Very seldom an original masculine noun has been changed into a
feminine, as Sindhī बाफ fem. 'steam;' Hindī likewise बाफ fem.,
Sans. वाष्प masc.

In *Marāṭhī, Hindī*, and *Panjābī* we find in a number of themes
the original feminine termination ā likewise shortened to ă, and then
dropped altogether, just like final ă of masculine themes. *e. g.* Marāṭhī
जीभ fem. 'tongue;' Hindī जीभ्, Panjābī 'jībh;' Marāṭhī दछिण
fem. 'the south wind;' Sans. दछिणा; the same holds good in
Gujarāti. In *Bengālī* the original feminine termination in ā has been
preserved, without being shortened to ă or being dropped altogether.
As in Sindhī every noun must end in a vowel, such themes as are
borrowed from Hindūstānī and are used there as feminines, frequently
adopt the feminine termination in ă, as : Hindustānī जमीन fem.
(زمين) Sindhī जमीन; मिल्क (ملک) fem. 'property,' Sindhī
मिल्क; in others, again, the gender is changed in Sindhī, as Hin-
dustānī كتاب fem., Sindhī किताबु masc. 'book.'

V. *Themes in* ī.

Themes in ī are in Sindhī of both genders; they are either *feminine*
or *masculine*.

1. The feminine termination in ī corresponds to the Sanskrit-

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¹ The change from final ī to ā or ă is seldom, and occurs occasionally already
in Prākrit as well as in Sindhī : *e. g.* भेण fem. 'sister,' Prākrit बहिणी Sans.
भगिनी; Marāṭhī बहीण; Hindī बहिन्

Prākrit ending in ī, by which feminines are derived from *masculine* themes, as: Sindhī भल्लो adj. 'good,' fem. भली ; मंदो adj. 'wicked,' fem. मंदी ; गोलो masc. 'a male slave,' fem. गोली 'a female slave;' बृांभणु masc. 'a Brahmān,' fem. बृांभणी. The same rule holds good in the cognate dialects, as Marāṭhī चांगला adj. 'good,' fem. चांगली ; कुचा masc. 'a male dog,' fem. कुची 'a bitch;' *Hindī:* थोड़ा adj. 'little,' fem. थोड़ी ; छोकरा 'a lad,' छोकरी fem. 'a girl.'

2. The feminine termination ī is frequently used to express *littleness, smallness, neatness,* as: Sindhī कातु masc. 'a large knife,' fem. काती 'a small (or nice) knife;' माटो masc. 'a large earthen jar,' fem. माटी 'a smaller ditto.' The same is the case in the other dialects.

3. The feminine affix ī forms *abstract* nouns corresponding to the Sanskrit affix ष्यञ् (= यं neut.) from adjectives and substantives, as Sindhī: चोरी fem. 'theft,' from चोरु 'a thief;' भली fem. 'goodness,' from भल्लो 'good;' दोस्ती fem. 'friendship, from दोस्तु masc. 'friend;' पुजिणाती fem. 'strength,' 'power,' from पुजिणातु 'strong,' etc. Besides this affix, another form in आई is also in use for deriving abstracts, as Sindhī काराई fem. 'blackness,' from कारो adj. 'black.' The same method of deriving abstract nouns from adjectives and substantives is followed in the other dialects.

4. Feminines which end in Sanskrit and Prākrit in ī can remain unchanged, as: Sindhī नदी fem. 'a river,' Hindī नदी etc.; सती fem. 'a virtuous woman,' Sans. सती; राणी fem. 'a queen,' Sans. राज्ञी.

5. Some themes which end in Prākrit originally in आ, change into ī in Sindhī, as: वाई fem. 'speech,' Prākrit वाआ, Sans. वाच् fem. Some even into ī, as: Sindhī डिठि fem. 'sight,' Prākrit दिट्ठी, Sans. दृष्टा.

The termination in ī is *masculine,* corresponding—

1. To the Sanskrit affix ई (= in), Pali and Prākrit ई (but Prākrit sing. nom. = ī), as: Sindhī धर्मी adj. 'religious,' Sans. धर्मिन् ; खामी 'lord,' Sans. खामिन् ; हाथी 'elephant,' Sans. हस्तिन्, Prāk. हत्थि. The same affix ई is used in the other dialects, as Marāṭhī हत्ती masc. 'elephant,' Hindī हाथी ; Bengālī svāmī, 'lord,' etc. माली (= मालिन् Sans.) Hindī, Bengālī, etc., 'gardener.'

2. To the Sanskrit affix ठक, by eliding क and lengthening i into ī, as Sindhī हारी masc. 'a peasant,' Sans. हालिक ; ओठी masc. 'a camel-rider,' from उठु masc. 'a camel ;' ठिकिरो 'a seller of earthenware,' from ठिकरु masc. 'earthenware.'

3. To the Sanskrit adjective affix य, by changing य into ī, as: Sindhī पिरीं masc. 'friend,' Sans. प्रिय 'beloved ;' अभागी adj. 'unfortunate,' Sans. अभाग्य ; Hindī likewise अभाग.

4. To the Sanskrit affix ईय, by throwing off य, as; Sindhī लाङी 'a man of Lār ;' हिंदी 'Indian,' from हिंदु masc. ' India ;' हिंदुई relating to a हिंदू ; the same affix ī is used in the other dialects ; in Bengālī both affixes are in use, ī as well as īya, e.g. Māgadhī, 'a man of Māgadha,' Baṅgīya, 'a Bengāli.'

5. Sanskrit masculine crudes, ending in ऽ, generally lengthen final i into ī, as Sindhī कवी masc. 'a poet,' Sans. कवि ; but in the other dialects 'kavi ;' but Marāṭhī हरी masc. 'Vishnu,' Sindhī on the other hand, हरि ; Hindī हरि or हरी. They either retain the original termination of the Sanskrit crude form, or lengthen the final vowel to ऽ, as it is done in the Prakrit nom. sing.

VI. *Themes in* ऽ.

Themes ending in ऽ are in *Sindhī*, with few exceptions, *feminines*, the termination ऽ being shortened either from the Sanskrit-Prākrit feminin ending in ī, or corresponding to Sanskrit feminine nouns ending in ऽ. The termination in ऽ is therefore generally used in

Sindhī to derive *feminines* from *adjectives* or *substantives* ending in
u, as: Sindhī अणमुतॖ adj. masc. 'stupid,' fem. अणमुति; मुंदरू
adj. masc. 'beautiful,' fem. मुंदरि; गड्डहु masc. 'a donkey,' fem.
गड्डि 'a jenny-ass,' परीटु masc. 'a washerman,' fem. परीटि 'a
washerwoman ;' बुधि fem. 'intelligence,' Sans. बुद्धि; मति fem. 'in-
tellect,'Sans. मति. In the cognate dialects final ī is often dropped, in
the same way as final ă (= ā), *e. g.* : Hindī मत् fem., or मति;
रीत् or रीति 'custom ;' Panjābī 'rīt,' fem. ; Sindhī राति fem.
'night,' Prākrit रत्ती, Sans. रात्रि ; Hindī रात् fem., Panjābī
likewise रात्.

In Marāṭhī, Hindī, and Panjābī final ī is often shortened, as in
Sindhī, to ĭ, and then dropped altogether, as Marāṭhī गोट्ट fem.
'story,' Hindī गोठ fem., Panjābī 'gōṣṭ,' Sans. गोष्ठी.

In some nouns the original gender has been changed, as Sindhī
आगि fem. 'fire,' Marāṭhī आग्, Hindī, Panjābī, Gujarātī आग्
fem.; but in Sanskrit अग्निन् masc., Pāli and Prākrit अग्गि masc.

It is further to be observed that in Sindhī final ī very frequently
interchanges with final ă, as both are the regular feminine termi-
nations, *e. g.* Sindhī आर or आरि fem. 'fondness,' 'love ;' छनि or
छन fem. 'a pond ;' गोड्डि or गोड्ड fem. 'thunder ;' to this we must
also reckon forms like Sindhī धुरि fem. 'origin,' Prākrit धुरा,
Sans. धुर, though the termination ă is no longer used in this noun.

In Sindhī, as well as in its cognate dialects, some masculine nouns
have retained the original Sanskrit ending in ī, as : हरि 'Vishnu'
(see v. 5), विरसपति the planet 'Jupiter,' Hindī बृहस्पति, commonly
बिहफद्. Marāṭhī ग्रनि masc. 'Saturn ;' Hindī lengthened मनी;
Foreign words also take occasionally the termination ī in *Sindhī*, as :
सेठि masc. 'a Hindī wholesale dealer,' Hindī सेठ ; खुदाइ masc.
'God,' Persian خدا

VII. *Themes in* ū.

Nouns ending in ū are, with few exceptions, in Sindhī *masculine ;* the Sanskrit-Prākrit termination u is generally lengthened in Sindhī, as : साऊ adj. 'upright,' 'honest,' Prākrit साउ, Sans. साधु ; Hindī likewise साधू (without elision of ध), but Marāṭhī साधु 'a saint,' and in Panjābī 'sādh,' by dropping final u altogether ; Sindhī तारू mase. 'the palate,' Sans. तालु neut.: Hindī likewise तालू mase., Panjābī 'tālū ;' Sindī वाटाड़ू mase. 'a traveller,' from वाट fem. 'way,' and the affix आड़ू = Prākrit आलु. Under this head come many substantives and adjectives in ū and āū, corresponding to the Sanskrit affixes उक and आकु (with elision of क and lengthening of u into ū), as : Sindhī विछू mase. 'scorpion,' Prākrit किछुओ, Sans. वृश्चिक ; जूं fem. 'louse,' Sans. यूक ; जद्राऊ adj, 'lasting,' from जद्रा fem. 'durability ;' रहाकू 'inhabitant,' or रहाऊ, from रहणु 'to dwell ;' खटाऊ adj. 'profitable,' from खट 'profit ; Hindī कारू 'an artist,' Sans. कारुक ; Panjābī tārū, 'a swimmer' (= tāruka).[1] Compare my *Essays on the Formation of Themes in the modern Arian Tongues.*

In other nouns, again, a more complicated contraction has taken place, as Sindhī साड़ूं mase. 'man,' Prākrit साणुसो, Sans. मानुष, डाड़ूं mase. 'pomegranate,' Sans. दाडिम, Hindī दाड़िम, Panjābī dāṛam or dāṛū.

That original u can hold its place, without being lengthened into ū, we have seen already in such feminine nouns as end in Sindhī in ŭ, as वशु fem. 'thing' (see themes ending in ŭ) ; in declension these themes differ from those in which u has been shortened from original ओ, as they never bend their final ŭ (feminine) before any postposition ; in Marāṭhī a similar process takes place, as nouns (masculine,

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[1] Marāṭhī विश्वासु adj. 'faithful,' etc.

feminine, or neuter) ending in original ŭ, lengthen the same into ū in the so-called *oblique case.*

Nouns ending originally in ū retain the same unchanged in Sindhī, as भू fem. 'earth;' Hindī likewise भू, Sans. भू; or they shorten ū into ŭ, and affix one of the two common feminine endings in ĭ or ŭ, as: सुदृ fem. 'earth;' जुंअ fem. 'louse;' आबिरू fem. 'honour,' or आबिरुदृ; Marāthī अन्नू fem.; Bengālī badhū, fem. 'a wife,' Hindī बहू, Panjābī ditto bahū, Sans. बधू fem.

This short survey of the formation of themes will do for our present purpose; for the details I refer my readers to my Essay in question.

SECTION II.

FORMATION OF NUMBER.

IN the modern Arian tongues of India the crude form of a noun is always identical with its *nominative singular;* the same is already the case in Pāli and Prākrit, with the only difference that in Prākrit masculine themes ending in ĭ and ŭ have the same lengthened in the nominative singular, a practice which is generally adhered to in the modern vernaculars likewise.

There is no more a *dual,* neither in Pāli nor Prākrit, nor any of the modern Sanskritical tongues; we have therefore only to consider the *formation of the plural (nominative),* which we shall best do according to the different terminations of nouns, exhibited in the preceding paragraph.

I. *Nouns ending in* ŭ

Form in Sindhī their plural by changing ŭ into ă, as: रूहु masc. sing. 'a well,' plural रूह 'wells;' वरु masc. sing. 'a husband,' plural वर 'husbands.' *Feminine* themes ending in ŭ do not fall under this head, as their final ŭ is unchangeable, and they will therefore be classed together with themes ending in ū, with which they accord in forming their plural.

We have noticed already that the Sindhī termination in ŭ is shortened from the Prākrit ending ओ ; in Prākrit nouns ending in ओ form their plural in आ, which is likewise again shortened into ă in Sindhī, just as the nominative singular.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* this class of words, having already dropped the short terminating vowel in the singular, throw the same off in the *plural* likewise, *i. e.* they remain unchanged in the plural, a: काम् masc. 'business,' plur. nom. काम् 'businesses ;' हल् masc. 'a plough,' plur. nom. हल् ' ploughs.'

In Marāṭhī masculine words ending in the nominative singular in (silent) अ, remain unchanged in the plural, *i. e.* the Prākrit plural termination आ has been likewise shortened into अ, and then been dropped (in pronunciation) as in the singular, *e. g.* बाप masc. sing. 'father,' plural बाप 'fathers ;' हात masc. sing. 'hand,' plural हात ' hands.'

Neuter themes ending in the nom. sing. in अ (by dropping final Anusvāra) form their nominative plural in एं, as: घर neut. sing. ' a house,' plural घरें ' houses ;' this is properly a contraction from the Pāli neutral plural termination आइ, Prākrit आई (= आनि in Pāli), which we meet with already in Pāli and Prākrit.

The *Panjābī* agrees in every respect with the Hindī nouns termi-nating in a silent consonant, remaining unchanged in the nominative plural, *e. g.* manukkh, masc. sing. 'a man,' plural manukkh, ' men.'

In *Gujarātī*, on the other hand, all those roots which end in a *silent consonant* form their plural by adding the affix ओ, as: नाम 'name,' plural नामो; माणस ' man,' plural माणसो ' men;' this plural affix ओ seems to be a change of the Prākrit plural termina-tion आ, or it may be compared with the Prākrit plural of such words as end in a consonant and change the plural termination अस् consequently into ओ. But the first explanation seems to be preferable, as in Gujarātī all those nouns which do not terminate in ओ, be their final letter a silent consonant or a vowel, add the plural affix ओ, as: मा fem. sing. 'mother,' plural माओ 'mothers;' आंख fem. 'eye,' plural आंखो 'eyes.'

The *Bengāli* deviates from the foregoing features in forming the plural in quite an original way ; it forms the plural very generally by adding the affix rā to the nominative singular in *animate* words, irrespective of the terminating vowel of the root : *e.g.* guru, masc. sing. 'a teacher,' plural gururā, 'teachers;' pitā, masc. sing. 'father,' plural pitārā ; svāmī, masc. 'a master,' plural svāmirā, 'masters;' strī, fem. 'a woman,' plural strīrā, 'women,' etc. We have nowhere found any hint as to the origin of this pluralising increment, and we give therefore our opinion with some hesitation. In the first instance we should compare this Bengāli pluralising affix with the Nipāli plural increment हारु, as : राजा masc. 'a prince,' plural राजाहारु 'princes.' In the inferior Prākrit dialects we find already the plural termination आहु, which Lassen has ingeniously compared with the old Vedic-Zendic plural in आसम् = आसो = आसु = आहु in Prākrit (see Lassen, p. 399). In Nipāli the स has been hardened into र and thus we obtain the form आरु, to which, for euphony's sake, ह has been added.[1] Still there remains a considerable discrepancy from the Bengāli affix रा. We suppose that the old Vedic plural form आसम् has been changed in Bengāli first to आरो = आरा (स being changed in Bengāli in some other instances, which are past doubt, into र, as in the *genitive*, and ओ into आ, as in Marāthī, Hindī, Panjābī, etc.), and the initial आ shortened, and then dropped altogether, as the accent has been thrown on rā. This supposition is borne out to a certain extent by the old Pārsī and the modern Persian plural termination ‌, which has undergone apparently a similar process of transmutation. It appears that the old Zendic plural affix āoṅhō (corresponding to the Vedic आसम्) has been split into two separate pluralising increments, the first half (= āon)

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[1] ह is occasionally interpolated in the modern vernaculars to prevent a hiatus, as : *Sindhī* and Marāthī हूं, हून् = अं and अन्, an ablative affix ; likewise the Sindhī affix हारु = आरु, Marāthī आर, in forms like Sindhī लिखणहारु 'a writer,' Marāthī लिहिणार part. fut., हारु and आर = Sanskrit कार (with elision of क).

having given rise to the modern Persian plural termination ‌اں, and the other half (= hō) to ها. We might also strengthen our supposition, that the Bengālī rā has arisen out of the old Vedic आसस् in the way we explained, by referring to the *Apabhransha* plural affix हा, which, to all intents and purposes, is identical with the Bengālī rā. Lassen feels inclined to consider this plural affix as an interjection of the *vocative;* but we cannot see how a simple vocative interjection should ever serve to express the idea of a plural.

Neuter nouns in *Bengālī* have no proper plural, and if the idea of plurality must needs be expressed, a word signifying *all, much,* or *many* is added (see Yates's Bengālī Grammar, p. 13). In the same way also the plural of *masculine* or *feminine* nouns may be expressed, by adding to the singular words like gaṇ, 'number,' jāti, 'tribe,' dal, 'a band,' as a sort of plural affix, which are added to the root without any change.

II. *Nouns ending in ō*

Form their *plural* in Sindhī by changing ō into ā, as: वाढो masc. sing. 'a carpenter,' plural वाढा; टोबो masc. sing. 'a diver,' plural टोबा 'divers.' We have noticed already, that the Prākrit termination ओ has in Sindhī either been shortened to ŭ or retained unaltered; the formation of the plural of the latter description of nouns is quite in accordance with Prākrit usage.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* the termination आ corresponds to the Prākrit and Sindhī ending in ओ; nouns which end in final ā (masc.) in Hindi and Hindustānī, form their plural in ए, as: कुत्ता masc. 'dog,' plural कुत्ते 'dogs;' लड़का masc. sing. 'a boy,' plural लड़के 'boys.' In the inferior Prākrit dialects the plural termination in ए or आ is already very common. (See Lassen, p. 430.)

The *Panjābī* agrees in every respect with the Hindī, as all nouns ending in ā (masc.) form their plural likewise in ए, *e. g.* Panjābī kursā, masc. 'a tunic,' plural kursē, 'tunics;' jodhā, 'a hero,' plural jodhē, 'heroes.' The same rule prevails in *Marāṭhī,* themes ending in आ (masc.) changing the same to ए in the plural, as : आरसा masc. sing. 'mirror,' plural आरसे ; some have both terminations in ए and आ, as: मामे or मामा, 'maternal uncles,' from मामा nom.

sing. (see Lassen, p. 430). The *neutral* ending of this (masc.) termination is, as we have seen, एुं; these nouns form their plural by changing एुं into ईं, which is a contraction from the Prākrit neutral plural termination ईइं. (See Lassen, p. 307.)

Nearest to the Sindhī stands the *Gujarātī*, in which the final आ has predominated, as in Sindhī; but the Gujarātī forms the plural of nouns ending in ओ not simply in आ, as the Sindhī, but in आओ, *e. g.* छोकरो masc. 'a lad,' plural छोकराओ 'lads;' which ending I feel inclined to identify with the Prākrit plural affix आहो or आहु (see Lassen, p. 399); the intermediate ह having been dropped in आहो; but the simple plural in आ also occurs, especially when a noun is connected with an adjective ending in ओ, the plural termination of which is always आ and not आओ. Neuters in उं form their plural simply in आं, as : गाडुं neut. 'a cart,' plural गाडां 'carts,' as in Pāli and Prākrit.

III. *Nouns ending in ā.*

Bases whose final vowel is ā, are in *Sindhī* for the most part *feminine;* they form their plural by adding the pluralising increment ऊं to the final आ, *e. g.* हचा fem. 'murder,' plural हचाऊं 'murders.'

Some few themes, ending in आ, are *masculine;* they remain unchanged in the plural, as : राजा masc. 'a prince,' plural राजा 'kings.'

The plural of feminine nouns ending in आ corresponds to the Prākrit plural termination आउ (= आओ) resp. ओ or उ, which is affixed to the long final आ (corresponding to the Prākrit termination अमु (see Lassen p. 307). In Pāli the nominative plural of nouns (fem.) ending in आ, is either the same as the nominative sing., or yō (y being euphonic) is added to the final आ of the singular, as : Pāli पुच्छा fem. 'a question,' nominative plural पुच्छा or पुच्छायो 'questions.' In Sindhī the final Prākrit ओ = उ has been lengthened into ऊ, and Anusvāra added, which is frequently done in the modern dialects, to prop a long vowel.

Masculine themes ending in आ (= Sanskrit अन्) throw off the

final ओ[1] of the Prākrit plural increment, as do the masculino themes in ī, *e. g.* Prākrit राआणो or राआओ, Sindhī राजा (the ज, which is already elided in Prākrit, having been preserved in the modern dialects), Pāli राजा, plural राजानो.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* feminino bases ending in आ or आं form their plural by adding the increment एं to आ, as: बला fem. 'calamity,' plural बलाएं; this एं corresponds to the Prākrit plural termination ओ, as we have seen that in the inferior Prākrit dialects final ओ (even of masculino themes) is frequently changed to ए (comparo Lassen, § 147, p. 398, § 156, p. 408). Masculine bases ending in आ, remain unchanged in the plural, just as in Sindhī; but this termination आ is not to be confounded with the ending आ, which corresponds to the Sindhī ओ.

In *Panjābī* the plural of feminino nouns in आ ends either in ईं or इआं, as: balā, fem. sing. 'misfortune,' plural balāīn, or balāiāṅ; the increment īṅ being a change from the Hindī एं, and iāṅ from the Prākrit ओ or Pāli yō; but there are also simplo plurals in आं, as : जगा fem. 'a place,' plural जगां 'places.'

The *Gujarātī* entirely agrees with the Prākrit method, adding simply ओ to feminino themes in आ, as : Gujarātī मा fem. 'mother,' plural माओ 'mothers.'

In *Marāṭhī* feminine themes ending in आ remain unaltered in the plural, as in Pāli, as : माता fem. 'mother,' plural माता 'mothers ;' कथा fem. sing. 'story,' plural कथा 'stories ;' masculino themes falling under this head remain unchanged in the plural.

IV. *Nouns (fem.) ending in* ă.

Bases the final vowel of which is ă, form their plural in Sindhī by changing ă either into आं or ऊं, as : तर fem. 'nostril,' plural तरां or तरूं 'nostrils.' These themes are on the whole shortened from Sanskrit-Prākrit bases in आ, and accordingly form their plural

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[1] We must assume here again that ओ has first been shortened into उ and then dropped altogether.

either in आं (throwing off the Prākrit plural termination ओ = उ) or in ऊं by dropping final अ before ऊं and lengthening the Prākrit ओ = उ to ऊ with the final Anusvāra (see the same process under No. III).

This class of nouns is wanting in the cognate dialects, where final अ has become silent, e. g. *Hindi* जीभ fem. 'tongue,' plural जीभें, the plural being made up by the increment एं = Prākrit ओ. (See also under No. III.) *Panjābi* bāṅh, fem. 'arm' (Sindhī बांह), plural bāṅhāṅ, 'arms' (see under No. III).

The *Marāṭhī*, in which final feminine अ is generally silent likewise, forms the plural of such nouns in the same way as the Sindhī, only *without Anusvāra*, as : जीभ fem. 'tongue,' plural जीभा.

The *Gujarātī* is consequent in adding simply ओ as plural increment to feminine bases ending in a quiescent consonant, as : सांझ fem. 'evening,' plural सांझो 'evenings ;' Sans. सन्ध्या.

V. *Nouns ending in ī.*

Masculine themes ending in ī remain in *Sindhī* unchanged in the plural, as : बेली masc. 'a servant,' plural बेली 'servants ;' feminine bases ending in final ī on the other hand, change ī in the plural into इऊं or यूं, as : गोली fem. sing. 'a female slave,' plural गोलिऊं or गोल्यूं 'female slaves.'

In Pāli masculine themes in ĭ (nom. singular) have the final ĭ lengthened in the plural into ī ; in Prākrit the plural of such bases ends either in इओ (or shortened ईउ) or in ī, as in Pāli ; with this method the Sindhī altogether accords.

In Pāli feminine themes ending in ĭ, either lengthen the same in the plural into ī, or add the increment yō (y being an euphonic interpolation) ; in Prākrit, feminine themes in ī add simply ओ or shortened उ to the final ī of the singular (= Sanskrit अस् being added as plural affix). In Sindhī this plural affix yō, or Prākrit ईओ, ईउ has been changed to इऊं, उ being lengthened into ऊ (and with Anusvāra ऊं) and the preceding ई accordingly shortened, as the accent falls on ऊं.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* masculine themes ending in ī remain unchanged in the nom. plural, as in Sindhī, *e. g.* सिपाही mas. sing. 'a soldier,' plural nom. सिपाही 'soldiers'; feminine bases follow the Pāli-Prākrit method, with the only difference that the Pāli-Prākrit ओ is changed, as elsewhere, into आ, *e. g.* Hindī छुरी fem. 'a knife,' plural छुरिआं 'knives.'

The *Gujarātī* comes nearest to the Prākrit, in this respect, as all nouns ending in ī (masculine or feminine) form their plural by simply adding ओ, as: घोडी fem. 'a mare,' plural घोडीओ 'mares,' etc.

The *Panjābī*, on the other hand accords most with the Hindī, masculine bases ending in ī remaining unchanged in the plural, and feminine themes in ī adding the plural increment āṅ, *e. g.* pāḷī, masc. 'a herdsman,' plural pāḷi; dhī, fem. 'a daughter,' plural dhīāṅ, 'daughters.'

In *Marāṭhī* masculine nouns, the final vowel of which is ī, remain unchanged in the plural as in all the other dialects, *e.g.* हत्ती masc. 'an elephant,' plural हत्ती 'elephants;' feminine themes in ī likewise follow the general rule, by changing ī in the plural into yā (the final Anusvāra of the other dialects being dispensed with in Marāṭhī), as गाडी fem. 'a carriage,' plural गाड्या 'carriages.' *Neuter* bases ending in ī form their plural regularly in एं (see the neuter plural in Marāṭhī under No. I.), as: मोती neut. 'a pearl,' plural मोत्यें 'pearls.'

VI. *Nouns ending in ĭ.*

Nouns ending in ĭ are in Sindhī (with very few exceptions) *feminine;* they form their plural by adding to final ĭ the affix ऊं, as: राति fem. 'night,' plural रातिऊं or रात्यूं 'nights.' Masculine themes ending in ĭ make up their plural in the same way as feminines, as: सेठि masc. 'a wholesale dealer,' plural सेठिऊं 'wholesale dealers.'

The Sindhī plural of these nouns (which are for the most part shortened from ī) agrees with the plural of nouns ending in ī, as in Prākrit the two terminations are no longer distinguished.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustāni*, as already stated, final ī has been dropped, and feminine nouns ending in अ or द originally use there-fore one common plural augment in एं; the same is the case in *Panjābī* and *Gujarātī*.

In *Marāṭhī* masculine bases in ĭ remain either unchanged in the plural or (according to some Pandits) lengthen final ĭ to ī in the plural, as in Pāli and Prākrit, as: कवि masc. 'a poet,' plural कवि or कवी. The same is the case with *feminine* bases, which remain either unchanged in the plural or have final ĭ lengthened to ī, as: रीति fem. 'custom,' plural रीति or रीती; the lengthening of final ĭ is more in accordance with Pāli and Prākrit usage, as: Pāli rattĭ, fem. 'night,' plural rattī or rattiyō; Prākrit nom. singular रत्ती, plural रत्तीओ or रत्तीउ. *Neutral* bases in Marāṭhī, ending in ĭ, have their plural either the same as the singular, or lengthen final ĭ to ī in the plural, as: अस्थि neut. 'bone,' plural अस्थि or अस्थी 'bones;' Pāli and Prākrit usage points likewise to the lengthening of the final ĭ in the plural, as Pāli aṭṭhĭ, neut. 'bone,' plural aṭṭhī, 'bones' (contracted from aṭṭhīni, which is also in use); Prākrit अट्ठी, plural अट्ठीद or अट्ठीदं.

In this class we must also include some few themes in Marāṭhī, which end now in अ (*quiescent*), having thrown off the original ĭ (= ī), as: Marāṭhī गोष्ट fem. 'a story,' Sans. गोष्ठी; such nouns form their plural regularly in ī, recurring again to their original termination, as गोष्टी plural 'stories.'

VII. *Nouns ending in* u (*original*) *and* ū.

As we have already stated above, Sanskrit-Prākrit nouns (masculine) ending in u have been lengthened in Sindhī to ū; they remain unchanged in the plural, as: विछूं masc. sing. 'a scorpion,' plural विछूं 'scorpions.' There are some *feminine* nouns ending in ŭ, which is in the majority of them *original*, in some not; these form their plural by lengthening final ŭ to ऊं, as: वस्तु fem. 'thing' (Sans. वस्तु fem.) plural वस्तूं 'things.' In Pāli masculine themes ending in u (original) lengthen the same in the plural, as: bhikkhu, 'a religious

beggar,' plural bhikkhū, Sanskrit भिक्षु ; Pāli masculine themes ending
in ū remain unchanged in the plural, as: abhibhū, 'a chief,' plural
abhibhū (contracted from abhibhuvō). In Prākrit masculine themes
ending in u lengthen their final vowel in the nominative singular
always to ū, to which in the plural nominative ओ (= Sans. अस्)
is added, as in themes ending in ī (= ī); e. g. Prākrit वाउ masc.
'wind,' nom. sing. वाऊ, nom. plural वाऊओ. This plural affix ओ
is again shortened to उ and then dropped altogether, as in the
plural of themes in ī.

Feminine nouns in Pāli ending in ŭ, remain unchanged in the
plural, as: yāgu, fem. 'a sacrifice,' plural yāgu, 'sacrifices,' or yāguyō;
those ending in ū remain likewise unaltered in the plural, as: jambū,
fem. 'the rose-apple,' plural jambū or jambuyō (in both cases y is
euphonic and ō = Sanskrit plural affix अस्). The same plural features
we meet with in Prākrit; feminine themes, ending in original ŭ or ū,
are in Prākrit lengthened throughout, as बहू fem. 'a wife,' Sans.
बधू ; the plural is made up in the same way as in Pāli by adding the
Sanskrit plural affix ओ (= अस्), as बहूओ or the same shortened,
बहूउ, and then contracted बहू. In Sindhī final ऊ of the plural of
feminine themes has been propped, as elsewhere, by Anusvāra.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* seem to have preserved more accurately
the original Prākrit plural, changing only ओ into आ, in the same
way as final ओ of masculine themes has been turned into आ;
e. g. जोरू fem. 'a wife,' plural जोरुआं, ū being shortened before
the heavy plural affix, upon which the *accent* rests, into ŭ. Masculine
themes ending in ū are of the same form in the plural as the singular,
as: बापू masc. 'master,' 'lord;' plural बापू 'masters.'

Gujarātī nouns in ū form their plural after the model of the
Prākrit, as: हिंदू masc. 'a Hindū,' plural हिंदूओ 'Hindūs.'

In *Panjābī* themes ending in u, if *masculine*, remain unaltered in
the plural, as: piu or pēu, 'father,' plural piu or pēu, 'fathers;'
feminine bases, on the other hand, form their plural by changing final
u (or uṅ) into vā (or vāṅ), as: māuṅ, fem. 'mother,' plural mavāṅ,
'mothers.' In many feminine nouns, ending in original u, the final

vowel has been dropped in the singular; notwithstanding this elision they form their plural, according to the Sindhī method in ऊं, as: bast, fem. 'a thing' (Sindhī वथु fem.) plural bastūn, 'things' (Sindhī वथूं).

The *Marāṭhī* contains a great many nouns ending in u or ū in which the original final has either been retained or lengthened to ū, as in Prākrit (nominative) ; they make up their plural in the following way :

1. Masculine, feminine, and neuter themes ending in u remain *unchanged* in the plural, as : साधु masc. 'a saint,' plural साधु 'saints ;' धेनु fem. 'a milch cow,' plural धेनु ; मधु neut. 'honey,' plural मधु. The Pāli and Prākrit plural termination of these various nouns has been shortened throughout to ŭ in Marāṭhī, so that the plural can no longer be distinguished from the singular.

2. Themes ending in ū, if *masculine*, are of the same form in the plural and in the singular, as in Sindhī and the other dialects, *e. g.* भाऊ masc. 'brother,' plural भाऊ 'brothers.' The same holds good of *feminine* bases, as : बाजू fem. 'side,' plural बाजू ; others again (according to the union vowel of the oblique case, singular, which becomes उव) form their plural regularly in उवा (as common feminine themes ending in अ), *e. g.* सासू fem. 'mother-in-law,' plural सासवा. *Neuters* in ū remain either unchanged in the plural, as टापू neut. 'an island,' plural टापू 'islands ;' or, according to the union vowel of the oblique case singular, they form their plural as regular neuters (ending in अ) in एं, *e. g.* करडूं neut. 'a kid' (oblique case singular करडा), plural करडें 'kids ;' जूं neut. 'a yoke,' (oblique case singular जुवा) plural जुवें 'yokes.'

SECTION III.

FORMATION OF CASES; CASE-AFFIXES.

PROPERLY speaking there is no longer a *declension* in the modern Indian languages of Sanskrit origin; there are only a few remnants of the ancient Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākrit case-inflexions, all the other cases being made up by the help of case-affixes, or more properly speaking, by *postpositions.*

If we compare the modern Arian dialects with the *Pāli* and *Prākrit,* we perceive at once the great deterioration the modern Indian tongues have undergone in this respect; for while the Pāli and Prākrit have preserved all the cases of the Sanskrit, with the exception of the *dative,* which has already become scarce in Pāli, and been discarded altogether in Prākrit, its functions being shifted to the *genitive,* the modern idioms have lost nearly all power of inflexion and substituted in lieu of flexional increments regular *adverbs,* which we generally term postpositions. The same process we notice in the modern *Romanic* tongues, where after the loss of the Latin declensional inflexions, *prepositions* have been substituted to make up the cases. It would be quite erroneous to conclude from the undeniable fact that the modern Arian tongues use *postpositions,* or flexional adverbs, that we have a reason for assimilating them with the Drāvidian declensional process. We have already seen that the way in which the themes and their plurals are formed can be traced up philologically, by the medium of the Prākrit and Pāli, to their common source the *Sanskrit;* and we shall now attempt to prove further, that their *declensional* features and the use of postpositions point by no means to a *Drāvidian* influence, but that all these peculiarities may be fairly explained by the Pāli and Prākrit. Dr. Caldwell, in his excellent Comparative Grammar of the Drāvidian Languages, has lately attempted to point out such an influence of the Drāvidian tongues on the north Indian vernaculars; he says (p. 225) "in the vernaculars of northern India, which are deeply tinged with Scythian characteristics, we find a suffix which appears to be not only similar to the Drāvidian, but the same. The dative-accusative in the Hindī and Hindustānī is 'kō,' or colloquially 'kū;' in the language of

Orissa, 'ku;' in Bengāli, 'ki;' in Sindhī, 'khi;' in Shingalese 'ghai;' in the Uraon, a semi-Drāvidian Kole dialect, 'gai;' in the language of the Bodos, a Bhutān hill tribe, 'khō;' in Tibetan, 'gya.' The evident existence of a connection between these suffixes and the Drāvidian dative case-sign 'ku' is very remarkable. Of all the analogies between the North-Indian dialects and the Southern, this is the *clearest and most important;* and it cannot but be regarded as betokening either an original connection between the northern and southern races, prior to the Brahmanic irruption, or the origination of both races from one and the same primitive Scythian stock." If this case-sign 'kō' or 'kū' be the *clearest* and *most important* analogy between the North-Indian vernaculars and the Drāvidian tongues, we shall see in its proper place that there will be no analogy whatever between them; for we hope to show in the following analysis of the case-affixes, that this analogy is only imaginary, not real, and this will be another proof, that in comparing languages we must not lay hold of the best word, analogous or even identical in sound as it may chance to be, and build a whole set of conclusions upon *one* word, but we must look to the *whole grammatical structure* of a *language*, and this will, in our instance, disprove the claimed affinity between the North-Indian vernaculars and the Drāvidian (Tatar) languages of the South, quite apart from the fact, that the dative case-sign 'ko' of the Arian vernaculars has nothing to do with the Drāvidian 'ku.'

We have seen above, that the crude form in the modern dialects constitutes at the same time the *nominative singular*, and that there is no flexional increment added to form the nominative case. The great distinctive feature of the declension of these dialects consists in this, that there are properly speaking only *two cases* of a noun, the *absolute* or *crude form*, corresponding throughout to the *nominative singular*, and the *formative case*, to which the different adverbs or postpositions are added, which serve to make up for the lost case-terminations; this latter case has been generally called the *oblique* case by our European grammarians, but we prefer to call it the *formative* case, an appellation which has been introduced by Dr. Caldwell, and which is far more to the purpose than that of *oblique case.*

The *number* of *declensions* depends therefore in the several dialects

upon the various methods in which this *formative* case is made up;
for the case-signs remain the same, as well for the *singular* as the
plural, since they are, as we shall see in the following, either Sanskrit
prepositions or adverbs.

We will now here first investigate the remnants of the ancient
Sanskrit case-terminations, and the adverbs or postpositions, which
have been substituted for such cases as have lost their original
inflexions. In the arrangement of the cases we will follow the order
as given generally by Sanskrit and Prākrit grammarians.

1. The *nominative singular* and *plural* we may pass by, as they
have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages.

2. The *accusative case, singular* and *plural*, has been dropped in all
the modern dialects, and both cases, the *nominative* and *accusative*, are
alike throughout in all the bases, be they of *masculine, feminine*, or
neuter gender. In Pāli and Prākrit the accusative case-termination
म् has as yet been retained, but it is already stated by the old Prākrit
grammarians, that in the inferior Prākrit dialects the accusative case-
sign म् is generally dropped; this is expressly mentioned of the
Apabhransha dialect, the mother of the modern Sindhī (see Lassen,
p. 459).

We must keep this fact constantly before our eyes, that in the *modern
Indian* tongues the *accusative* is throughout *identical* with the *nomi-
native*, and that, grammatically speaking, there is no such thing as an
accusative case. If we find it therefore generally stated in European
grammars, that कों, के, खे, etc., serves also to make up an *accusative*
case, we have, in the grammatical sense of the word, to repudiate this
assertion. We shall see under the *dative case* what the origin of this
disputed कों, के, खे, etc., properly is, and the syntactical pecu-
liarities of the modern Indian tongues must be explained according to
this, and can satisfactorily be accounted for according to our derivation;
whereas, as long as कों is promiscuously taken for a *dative* and *accu-
sative* affix, all is in a maze.

3. The *Instrumentalis* is no longer denoted by any case-affix or
postposition in *Sindhī*, but differs from the nominative only by the

change of the terminating vowel, and it is therefore *identical*, as well
in the singular as in the plural, with the *formative* or *oblique* case; as:
घर् masc. sing. 'a house,' instrum. sing. घर 'by a house; *formative*
case घर; plural घरनि or घरां instrum. plural, 'by houses,' forma-
tive plural घरनि or घरां. The Sindhī seems to have struck out
its own way as regards the formation of the instrumentalis, and to
have gone back to the original instrumentalis case-sign, which is in
Sanskrit आ (see Bopp's Comparative Grammar, Eastwick's English
Translation, i. p. 175); in *Zend* we find that this original case-sign
आ is already abbreviated, so that the primary form and the instru-
mental are completely similar. The same is the case, to a certain
extent, in Sindhī, as it is quite apparent in themes ending in ŭ (= ă),
ū, ī, and a, which form the instrumental respectively in ă, ŭa, ia, and ŭ.
In the plural instrumental the affix अनि (= नि), or contracted आं
recurs, as in Hindī.[1]

The *Pushtō* agrees with the Sindhī in this, as in many other
instances, most strikingly, by forming the instrumental by a mere
change of the final vowel, as: سړي saṛai, masc. nom. sing. 'a man,'
instrum. سړي saṛī, formative case سړي; plural instrum. سړي saṛō,
'by men,' formative case سړي saṛō.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* use as instrumental case-affix or post-
position ने. In Hindūī (see Garcin de Tassy, Rudiments de la Langue
Hindoūī, pp. 26 and 99) we meet further the affixes ने, नें, नि, and
न; and in the *plural*, अन् or ने, नें, and नि.[2] This is so far of
importance that it will throw some light on the important question, *what
the formative or oblique case originally was?* In Panjābī we meet
with the instrumental affix *nai* or simply *nă*, or only ē or ī; in

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[1] The Apabhransha has not always been the model for the modern Sindhī;
for we find in Apabhransha the instrumental singular in एं = एन् = एन,
and in feminine themes simply in ए. (See Lassen, pp. 461 and 464.)

[2] Garcin de Tassy writes (p. 27) in the instrumental plural बालुकन,
which is erroneous; it must be pronounced बालकन्. Compare the Sindhī
बालकनि.

Gujarātī wo have **उ** as tho instrumental affix likewise (= Sindhī अ = आ with change of आ into उ).[1] In *Marāṭhī* we find **ने** used for the instrumental singular, and **नीं** (lengthened from the Hindūī **नि** = अन् = Sindhī अनि) for the plural. As to the origin of these several instrumental affixes there can be no doubt. According to Bopp (see Comparative Grammar, i. p. 76) **न** is an euphonic inter-polation, so that the proper instrumental affix would be nā. We have seen in Sindhī that this ā (without the addition of euphonic **न**) is shortened in the singular instrumental to ă, etc., whereas in the plural आं or अनि recurs; in Hindī and Hindustānī, as well as in Marāṭhī, the affix **ना** has been changed to **ने** (a change which is frequent enough in the modern dialects) and in Panjābī to nai, or nā is simply abbreviated to nă. A further change of **ने** seems to be **नि**, which we meet with already in the singular instrumental in Hindūī, and which is used as a distinguishing plural instrumental affix in Sindhī, अनि, and in Hindī अन, with the further difference that it is *joined to the crude forms*, and not written *separately*, as **नि** or **ने** is. The *Marāṭhī* likewise has managed to form two instrumental affixes out of the same base, one serving for the singular, and **नीं** (= Hindū **नि**) serving for the plural.[2] In *Gujarātī* the instrumental affix **उ**, as well as the Panjābī ē and ī, *must always be joined* to the noun itself, as they form a real case-termination just as much as in Sanskrit.

In *Bengālī* **ते** is used as an instrumental affix, which is originally identical with the *ablative*, and has sprung from the Prākrit ablative affix **तो** = तम्, as we shall see under the ablative case.

4. The *dative case*, as already noticed, has totally disappeared from the Prākrit, and its functions have been assigned to the *genitive*. We find therefore in the modern Indian tongues the

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[1] If we do not prefer to refer this **उ** to the Apabhransha **ऊं** or **उं**, which seems to us rather doubtful, as **ने** in Gujarātī is of different origin.

[2] The Marāṭhī uses for the plural instrumental also the affix **हीं**, which corresponds to the Prākrit plural instrumental affix **हिं** or **हि**. (See Lassen, p. 310.) **उ, ईं** is also occasionally used with the elision of **ह**.

greatest discrepancy as to the way in which the dative case is provided for.

The *Marāṭhī* uses *two* affixes to make up the dative case, which are as all other declensional adverbs, joined to the root by the so-called *union vowel* (the nature of which we shall investigate hereafter), viz.: स and ला. The first of these two, namely स, is identical with the Prākrit genitive-dative case-termination स्स = Sanskrit स्य, so that we have here the remnant of an ancient Sanskrit-Prākrit case-inflexion. The latter one, ला, is more doubtful as to its origin. Lassen has already started a conjecture (see pp. 55 and 99) as to the origin of this affix ला ; he derives it from the Sanskrit आल = आलय, ' place,' habitation,' signifying the *place* in which the action rests. "Dativus, quum notionem contineat personæ vel rei, in quâ quasi subsistit actionis ratio, domicilii vocabulum ei designando commode adhiberi potuit." We cannot indorse this derivation, as the Marāṭhī case-affix is not आल but ला, and we cannot see any reason why initial ā should have been transposed to the back of this particle; such jumps are always more than doubtful. We would compare this Marāṭhī dative affix ला with the *Sindhī postposition* लाइ, ' on account of,' ' for the sake of,' ' for,' Hindūstānī لِے ' liē,' both of which are derived from the Sanskrit root ला or रा, ' to give.' This seems to me to be borne out by the *modern Persian dative-accusative* particle را ' to,' which is as yet very scantily used in the old *Pārsī*, and which, according to Spiegel's Pārsī Grammar (p. 55), does not denote properly a *dative* case, but always signifies ' for the sake of,' ' on account of.' I am further strengthened in this supposition by the *Pushtō;* we find there as dative-case affix لَ or doubled لَرَ, which corresponds to the modern Persian particle را; but besides this we find also a *dative-case prefix* used, وَ, which is identical with the *old Pārsī dative prefix* ' ō,' and which I suppose to be identical with the Sanskrit preposition आ, ad; usque ad, tenus.

In *Bengālī* we meet (besides के, which see presently) also, especially in poetical language, a dative-case affix rē, and in plural ērē (with the conjunctive vowel ē), which I do not hesitate to identify

with the Marāṭhī रूा and Hindūstānī 'liē' (Hindūstānī root lē, as lē-nā, etc.), रू and र interchanging being a very common phenomenon in the Prākritical dialects; that अा is frequently changed to ē, we have had divers opportunities of observing.

We turn now to the *Sindhī*, *Bengālī*, *Hindī*, and *Hindustānī*, where we find in the *Sindhī* as dative-case affix खे, in *Bengālī* के, *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* को, in *Hindui* (according to Garcin de Tassy), also कीं, कौं, कह, कंह, कहं, or even हि.[1] Dr. Caldwell's conjecture as to the origin of these dative affixes we have already noticed at length. At the first coup d'œil the identity of खे, के, को, etc., with the Drāvidian dative-case affix 'ku,' etc., seems to be quite convincing; yet, on nearer investigation, we shall find this comparison to turn out illusive. In the first instance the fact speaks already very strongly against it, that the Marāṭhī, which is the closest neighbour to the *Drāvidian* tongues of the south, has repudiated the use of के or को altogether, and used an affix, the origin of which we have attempted to fix, and as we hope, past controversy. We shall further see that the *Gujarātī* and *Panjābī* have also made up for the dative case by postpositions, borrowed from the *Sanskrit*, without the slightest reference to the Drāvidian languages, and we may therefore reasonably expect the same fact for the remaining Arian dialects. It would certainly be wonderful if those Arian dialects which border immediately on the Drāvidian idioms, should have warded off any Drāvidian influence, and that those more to the north should have been tinged "deeply" with Scythian characteristics. Fortunately we are able to show that such an assumption is not only gratuitous, but irreconcilable with the origin of the above-mentioned dative affixes. We derive the *Sindhī* खे and the *Bengālī* के from the *Sanskrit locative* कृते, 'for the sake of,' 'on account of,' 'for,' 'as regards,' being thus altogether identical in signification with the Marāṭhī रूा,

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[1] The Marāṭhī has also preserved the same affix, only with a different assimilating (or rather, as regards the Marāṭhī, *dissolving*) process; for करितां is absolutely the same as कृतं. See my System of Sindhi Sounds, § 2, p. 399.

Bengāli 're,' etc. This will at once account for the *aspiration* of ख in the Sindhī खे; for this is not done by mere chance, but according to a fixed rule (see my System of Sindhī Sounds, § ii, 1, and Note I); in *Bengāli* there is no such influence of 'r' on the aspiration of a preceding or following consonant, and therefore we have simply के. The Sanskrit form कृते becomes in Prākrit first किते, then (by the regular elision of त) किए, and contracted के, and in Sindhī by the influence of (elided r) खे.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* form of this affix को (dialectically pronounced kū in the Deccan), which has apparently invited its comparison with the Tamil ku, etc., we derive in the same way from the Sanskrit accusative neuter कृतं, which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative कृते. In Prākrit already, and still more so in the inferior dialects, the *neuter* is confounded with the *masculine* (and in the modern dialects which have *no neuter*, the neuter has been altogether identified with the masculine); we have therefore first in Prākrit, कितों, then again (by regular elision of त) किओं, and contracted को. We can thus satisfactorily account for all these three forms, खे, के, and को; how Dr. Caldwell will, in identifying them with the Drāvidian ku, etc., I cannot see. That this derivation of खे, के, and को rests not on a mere fancy of mine, is farther proved by the Sindhī particle रे 'without,' which is derived in the way described, from the Sanskrit locative form ऋते, 'with the exception of,' 'excepted,' 'without,' Prākrit first रिते, then रिए, and contracted रे.

The *Gujarātī* dative affix is ने, which we can identify without any difficulty with the Sanskrit preposition नि, Greek ἐν, Latin *in.*

The *Panjābī* uses as dative affix 'nū,' in which we likewise recognise the Sanskrit preposition अनु, 'towards,' 'to.'

If the derivation of these several dative affixes, which we have given, be correct, this will clear up, in a satisfactory way, the apparent anomalies met with in the syntactical structure of the modern Indian tongues. The Marāṭhī alone has a regular dative-case termination (= *genitive*, which is used for the dative) in स; all the other dialects

(the Marāṭhī with ल्या included) use only *adverbial* affixes, which neither constitute a *regular dative*, far less an *accusative* (which, as a regular case, has been lost completely), just as little as the other adverbial affixes or postpositions constitute an *ablative* or locative, etc. *Logically* in our own idiom we may translate a noun with खें, कें, कों, ल्या, etc., as a *dative*, or, as the case may be, as an *accusative;* but we must not forget that we have only to deal, in a grammatical sense, with *adverbial affixes,* whose significations we must strictly realize, if we wish to get a true insight into the genius of these languages. The details of this idiomatic structure we hope to elucidate in a Sindhī Grammar, which will shortly appear in print.

It remains now for us to notice briefly the deviating forms of the Hinduī, as given by Garcin de Tassy in his Rudiments of the Hinduī Language. In कीं and कोंं a euphonic Anusvāra has been added, which the modern tongues dispense very liberally ; कोंं is a different pronunciation for कों, ō changing in Hindū very commonly to au. The forms कह, or, with euphonic Anusvāra, वांह or कहं, present again another proof of the correctness of the derivation कों, etc., from the Sanskrit कृतं. For we have in कह, कंह, and कहं the same basis as in कों and कोंं, only the assimilating process has been different. The vowel ऋ, when joined to a consonant, can, according to Prākrit usage, be resolved either into ĭ (as in किंतें from कृतें) or into ă, as कतं for कृतं (see Varar. I, 27 ; Lassen, p. 116, 2 *a.*); in consequence of the inherent 'r' sound, the following consonant is *aspirated* (as in Sindhī the preceding ख = क), so that we have कथं; this aspirated थ is again, according to regular Prākrit usage, elided (so that only ह remains, see Lassen, p. 207), and thus we get the forms कह, or कंह, or कहं. With the other alleged form हि the matter stands very different. We compare this Hinduī dative affix with the *Apabhramsha* genitive affix हे (ए being in Prākrit anceps, and frequently standing for ĕ or ĭ), the genitive, as frequently noted, supplying in Prākrit the place of the dative. As regards the analysis of this हे see Lassen, pp. 462 and 466.

5. The *ablative case* is formed in *Sindhī* by the affix आं, which

is always connected with the base, and never written separately.
The Sindhī shows itself thus fully conscious of the origin of this case
termination, which corresponds exactly to the Pāli-Prākrit ablative
case termination आ, which originates from the Sanskrit ablative
आत् by the elision or dropping of final त् (see Lassen, pp. 302 and
304).

Besides this common ablative affix आं, we find in Sindhī also
अंझं, or contracted आं or ओं. In the older idiom, as used especially
by the Sindhī bards, the ablative case generally ends in आउ. All
these various ablative affixes are derived from the Prākrit ablative
आदो (Lassen, pp. 302, 304, and 599), = आओ or shortened आउ
(with the elision of medial द्) and then again abbreviated अंझं.

Nearest to the Sindhī in this respect stands the *Marāṭhī*, which
uses as *ablative*-case affixes ऊन् (without a *union vowel*) or with
euphonic ह being interpolated हून्, with which latter affix the
union vowel of the *formative* case is again joined. Both these
affixes are sprung from the Prākrit ablative form तो = दो = दु
(the preceding vowel being always lengthened), with this difference,
that ओ or उ (by the elision of त or द्) has been lengthened in
Marāṭhī into ऊ,[1] and the final (euphonic) Anusvāra turned into
a full dental n. We meet in Marāṭhī also occasionally with the affix
तून्, which disperses all doubts as to the origin of these ablative
affixes.

In *Bengālī* and *Panjābī*[2] we find as ablative affix ते, which has
sprung from the Prākritical तो (by change of ओ into ए). In
Bengālī the affix 'haitē' is commonly used to express an ablative
idea, which we consider to be originally a *double* affix, 'hai' corres-
ponding to है, which is already used in the inferior Prākrit dialects
as an ablative-case sign (see Lassen, pp. 461 and 465) and ते. That
ए is changed into 'ai' we have numerous instances in *Hinduī*, as

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[1] The same we find already in the Apabhransha (see Lassen, pp. 461 and 465).

[2] In Panjābī a regular ablative-case termination is also occasionally to be met
with, viz.: ऊं (= आं), as, घरें 'from a house,' etc.

ए into 'ai,' *vice versâ.* हे has sprung from अस्य (see Lassen, p. 179), and is therefore originally a *genitive*-case termination, which is further used also for the ablative case, both cases already interchanging in the inferior Prākrit dialects. This may also account for the ablative-case termination हि (with lengthened preceding vowel आहि, etc.), already used in Prākrit, about which Lassen is so much at a loss (see Lassen, p. 303). It seems to me that already in Prākrit proper a confusion of cases has taken place, and that हि has been used besides the more ancient form तो or दो. This is clearly borne out by the inferior dialects, which use already हे promiscuously for the genitive or ablative, though the more ancient ablative-case terminations have still been retained. We shall presently have occasion to speak more of this affix हे, which will show its common use in the modern dialects.

In *Gujarātī* we meet with थी as an ablative affix, which is conspicuous by the circumstance that त has been *aspirated*. We find in Hindī also थे, which is likewise aspirated; both forms are identical with ते = तो.

The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* use (besides थे) as ablative affix में, ﺳﮯ. We have already pointed out, that हे is used in the inferior Prākrit dialects as a genitive (and then further as an ablative) case termination; in Prākrit हे is in the first instance an abbreviated form for अस्य the genitive of the pron. theme अ (see Lassen, p. 32). Bopp's theory (see Comparative Grammar, i. 194) on the origin of the genitival termination स्य seems so far to accord with this, as स्य has been likewise contracted into हे in the inferior Prākrit dialects (Lassen, p. 462). There can therefore remain no doubt, that the Hindustānī postposition में is identical with the genitive-case termination हे (*h* and *s* interchanging according to a common rule) separated from the base, and used now as an adverbial affix, in the same way as ने.

6. The Sanskrit *genitive*-case termination स्य, in Pāli and Prākrit एस, has been lost in all the modern Arian dialects, with the exception of the Bengālī, in which the genitive-case termination र has

been hardened from ह्म. All the other dialects have taken to a new way of forming the genitive, of which we find already some traces in the old Vedic dialect; *the noun, which ought to be placed in the genitive case, is changed into an adjective, by an adjectival affix, and thence follows naturally, that this so-called genitive, which is really and truly only an adjective, must agree in gender, case, and number with its governing noun, as every other adjective does.* The adjectival affix, used thus, to make up for a genitive, varies in the different dialects.

The *Sindhī* employs the affix जो, corresponding to the common adjectival affix को (= Sans. क), with transition of the tenuis into the media, very likely to make thereby some distinction between these two affixes, as जो, when serving as genitive-case affix, is always written separately, whereas the common adjectival suffix को is always joined to the base, as in Sanskrit. The Marāṭhī uses as genitive-case affix चा, with transition of the guttural क into the corresponding palatal, as in Sindhī, yet without changing the tenuis into the media. The *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* have preserved the original Sanskrit adjectival affix क without changing it into a palatal, viz. का; in Hinduī we meet with the genitive affix को = को. A further proof that these genitive affixes जो, चा, का, को, etc., are really the adjectival affix क of the Sanskrit, and the को of the Prākrit, we have in the fact, that they all end in *o*, a *long vowel*, ō = ā; as all those adjectives do, which are formed with this affix (see my system of formation of themes under the termination को).

The *Panjābī* and *Gujarātī* seem to make an exception to what we have just stated. In Panjābī the genitive-case affix is दा, in which we recognise the Prākrit ablative-case affix दो (= तस्), turned into a genitival affix in Panjābī, so that we have here again a confusion or interchange of cases. This Panjābī genitival-case affix will also clear up the *Pushtō* genitive sign د, which, however, is always a *prefix*, and not an *affix*, as in Panjābī. In Pushtō د is no longer an adjectival affix, but it has taken again the place of an adverb, as in Prākrit, and the Pushtō genitive case is thus originally an *ablative*, just as in Panjābī.

The *Gujarātī* employs as *genitive*-case affix नो, which is another adjectival affix, corresponding in signification with क, and used identically with को in Sindhī, to form *adjectives* (on the origin of this adjectival affix, corresponding to the Sanskritical affix i-na, etc., see Bopp's Comparative Grammar, iii, § 839 ; compare also Latin forms like Rom-ā-nus, urb-ā-nus, etc.; see also my system of formation of themes under the ending नो = आनो). In Pushto نو, which apparently corresponds to our नो, is again used as an *adverbial ablative* affix, denoting 'from,' 'out,' in the same way as نو is used for the genitive in an adverbial sense.

7. In *Sindhī* the original Sanskrit *locative*-case termination ट has been preserved, though the locative can now only be distinguished in bases ending in u, as : घरि 'in a house,' from घरु masc. 'a house ;' in bases ending in any other vowel but u, the locative falls now together with the *instrumental*, if it is not preferred to express the idea of the locative, for the sake of perspicuity, by an *adverb* or *postposition*. In *Marāṭhī* the locative-case affix ट has been lengthened to ई, and at the same time nasalised, as घरीं 'in a house,'= Sindhī घरि. Besides this affix ई we meet also in Marāṭhī with the locative termination आंत, which is originally the Sanskrit *ablative* termination (nasalised), and used already in Sanskrit in a locative sense, especially in adverbs, etc., denoting a place.

In *Bengālī* the *locative singular* ends in ē or ĭ, as in Sindhī, or is expressed by the *instrumental ablative* affix ते which is generally used for the plural also. We have here another instance, that the *ablative* is used for the locative, as in Marāṭhī.

In *Panjābī* the locative sense is generally expressed by adverbial postpositions, though the locative case has not been altogether lost, which ends either in ई, as in Marāṭhī, or simply in ē, as : ghariṅ, 'in a house ;' phajarē, 'in the morning,' etc.

In *Gujarātī* the locative is either expressed by the case-sign ए, as : आरंभे 'in the beginning,' nom. आरंभ, or made up by the use of postpositions.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* the locative, *as a case*, has been quite lost, and only some vestiges of it remain, as : होते or emphatic होतेही.

'in being,' and thus a locative can be formed with all participles, present or past, which are generally looked upon by our European grammarians as *indeclinable* participles, but which are in reality only *locatives*, as it is most clearly borne out by comparing the cognate dialects. In nouns the locative is generally made up by the use of postpositions or adverbs, if we do not prefer to take such expressions as اُس دِن us-din, 'on that day,' etc., rather as locatives (final ĭ being dropped generally in Hindī and Hindustānī, as رات rāt = rātĭ, rīt = rītĭ), than to explain them by the absence of a postposition or adverb.

8. The *vocative* is not expressed by any case-sign in the modern Indian tongues, but is generally identical with the nominative. The vocative is mostly indicated by prefixing an interjectional particle, as ē, or hē, or hō, or rē, rī, or arē,[1] or yā, with or without a change of the final vowel, as the case may be; the interjectional particle may also be suffixed after the example of the Persian.

SECTION IV.

The Formative, or Oblique Case.

We considered in the preceding paragraph the remnants of the ancient Sanskrit-Prākrit case-terminations, and the various affixes, adverbs, or postpositions, which are used to make up for the lost case-terminations. We have noted already, that, properly speaking, there are now only two *cases* in the modern Arian tongues, the *absolute* or *nominative* case, and the *formative* or *oblique* case, to which all the

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[1] About rē and rī, and arī, see Dr. Caldwell's Remarks in his Comparative Grammar, p. 440.

various postpositions are added, which are now used to express the
idea of the several cases.

I. *The Formative of the Singular.*

After repeated research and inter-comparison of the several Arian
dialects, I have come to the conclusion, that the *formative* in itself
does not represent any case, or does exist absolutely without a
postposition or adverbial affix, though apparently there are many
phenomena to disprove this. In *Sindhī*, as we have already noted,
the *formative* is always identical with the *instrumental*, so that we
might easily be induced to say, that the *instrumental* in Sindhī always
represents the *formative* or *oblique* case. In spite of all this apparent
conformity of both cases, if the formative is to be called a case at all,
which I believe it is not, the origin of both is very different. We
have already given our explanation of the instrumental singular in
Sindhī, and we shall now attempt to show, that the formative, which
only serves as a base to make up for the lost case termination, is of
very different origin, though identical with the instrumental.

The formative in Sindhī undergoes exactly the same change of the
final vowels, as if any *other affix* were to be added to the base. The
declensional particles or affixes are now written *separately* in Sindhī,
and not joined to the root, as they are more consequently in Marāṭhī,
but still the noun is considered as coalescing with them; *e.g.* घरु, 'a
house,' *formative* घर, with the declensional affixes घर जो, घर खे,
etc.; the *same vowel-change* takes place if the noun is rendered a
diminutive by the affix ड़ो, ड़ी, or रो with adjectives, as: घरड़ो,
'a small house.' Nouns ending in ŭ, but being *feminine*, retain their
final u before any case-affix, just as they do before any *diminutive*
affix, *e.g.* जिंदु fem. 'life,' formative जिंदु, as: जिंदु, जो, खे, ते,
etc.; the same with a diminutive affix, जिंदुड़ी masc. 'life,' etc.

Nouns ending in ō change the same in the *formative* to ए, whereas
with a *diminutive* affix it is generally changed to ĭ, or even to ă, as:
पखो masc. 'a mat,' formative पखे, as पखे, जो, खे, etc.; *dimi-
nutive* पखिड़ो or पखड़ो, 'a small mat.' The change of final ō to ए

in the *formative*, and not to ĭ or ă, as with other affixes, is, I believe,
to be ascribed to an effort for perspicuity ; besides this the accent is
not so completely thrown back on the first syllable, as it is the case in
a *diminutive* form, as : pákhiṛō, but is more divided between the noun
itself and the declensional affix, as: pákhé-khé, not pákhe-khé, by
which fact the language still seems to have preserved some con-
sciousness, that it has to deal with affixes, which were (at least partly)
originally *adverbs*.

Nouns ending in Sindhī in ū, ă, or ĭ, remain unchanged in the
formative ; those which terminate in ī and ū, change the same in the
formative to ĭă and ŭă respectively, as they do when any other particle
is added to the noun, as : हारी ' a peasant,' हारिअ जो, माड़ंहू
' a man,' माड़हुअ जो.

In *Marāṭhī*, on the other hand, we see a different principle prevail
in regard to the formative ; for while the Sindhī *shortened* the final
vowel, or depressed it to make room for the acceding affix, the Marāṭhī,
on the other hand, *lengthened* a *final* vowel to preserve the *original accent*,
which we see already partly done in Prākrit (see Lassen, pp. 302 and
304) ; *e. g.* Marāṭhī घर neut. ' a house,' formative घरा, as घराचा,
घराम, etc.   The formation of the formative case is in Marāṭhī rather
difficult, but on the whole the *principle* which we laid down, that a
final (short) vowel must be *lengthened* before any case-affix or post-
position can be added to the root, will suffice.   On the other hand, the
same principle, which we have noticed in Sindhī nouns ending in ī and
ū, prevails in Marāṭhī too ; a final ī or ū may first be shortened into
i (a) and u (va), or av (o), and then this final sub-sounding (euphonic)
a is again lengthened before the respective case-affix ; *e. g.* रू masc.
' cotton,' formative रुवा ; भाऊ masc. ' brother,' formative भावा ;
विंचू masc. ' a scorpion,' formative विंचवा ; बिगारी ' a forced
labourer,' formative बिगार्या ; पाणी neut. ' water,' formative पाण्या.
It would lead us too far to enter into any details, for which we must
refer to any Marāṭhī Grammar.

In *Gujarātī* the formative does not deviate from the nominative
except in nouns (masc.) which end in ō or uṅ (neut.) ; the formative
of both these terminations is made by changing final ō or ūṅ into ā or

ān respectively, as : **क्रोकरो** masc. nominative, ' a lad,' formative, **क्रोकरानो** ' of a lad,' etc. ; **अंडुं** neut. ' an egg,' formative **अंडानो** ' of an egg,' etc. The Gujarātī agrees so far with the Sindhī, that in Sindhī likewise final ō (or ŭ) is changed into ā before the adjectival affix nō (see also what we have noted on nō under the genitive).

In *Panjābī*, nouns (masc.) ending in ā (corresponding to the Sindhī and Gujarātī nouns in ō) form their formative by changing final ā into ē, just as in Sindhī, as : mundā, ' a boy,' formative mundē-dā, etc.; feminine themes ending in ā remain, as in Sindhī, unchanged in the formative ; masculine and feminine themes in ī and ŭ (or ūṅ) do not distinguish the formative from their absolute form ; in the same way, all nouns ending in a *silent* consonant, have the nominative and formative singular alike.

The same nearly may be remarked of the *Hindī* and Hindustānī ; masculine themes, ending in ā, change final ā into ē in the formative, whereas feminine nouns in ā are identical in the nominative and formative cases ; the same holds good in nouns (masculine or feminine) ending in ī or ū, which remain unchanged in the formative. Themes ending in a *silent* consonant are, of course, exempted from any change in the formative singular.

In *Bengālī* the formative is throughout identical with the nominative, excepted those nouns which end in the singular nominative in ī (= Sanskrit **इन्**), and which shorten this final ī into ĭ before the accession of any case-affix, as : svāmī, masc. ' a master,' formative, svāmĭ-tē, svāmĭ-r, ' of a master,' etc.

We may therefore sum up with the remark, that the formative singular in the several dialects is subject to the same euphonic rules, as nouns generally are, when any adjectival or diminutive particle, or any other increment, is added to them.

II. *The Formative or Oblique Case Plural.*

We have shown in the preceding remarks, that the formative singular is in itself no case, but merely the euphonic change of any noun before the accession of any flexional or other increment. With

the formative plural, though the matter stands different, and there can hardly remain a doubt that the formative or oblique case plural represents originally the genitive plural; all the dialects when inter-compared, point to the same source. And in the first instance the formation of the genitive itself seems to have given rise to its promis-cuous use as the formative plural; we have shown above that the genitive in the modern dialects is properly speaking an *adjective*, with the affix क (= का, जो, चा, etc.); this affix could only be added to the *original* Sanskrit-Prākrit genitive, if the idea of plurality was not to be lost; a similar use we find already in the Vedic dialect (see Lassen, p. 54). The Gujarātī presents to us the only exception, which affixes all flexional increments direct to the *nominative plural*. The Bengālī, on the other hand, forms the oblique case plural by adding a noun, denoting 'a region,' 'a band,' 'a multitude,' etc., to which again the same inflexional increments are suffixed, as in the singular.

In turning to the remaining dialects, we find, that the Sindhī forms its formative plural in अनि or आं, as : घरनि or घरां, *e.g.* घरनि जो, घरनि खे or घरां जो, घरां खे, etc. The only case which we can compare with these forms is the Prākrit genitive plural in आणं or आण, = Sindhī आं, which seems to be the older form of the two, from which अनि has again been shortened.[1] That घरनि or घरां corresponds originally with the Prākrit genitive plural is borne out by other compositions, in which the original signification of the genitive plural is yet manifest, *e.g.* घरनिवारो, 'a possessor of houses.' The nominative plural determines the *conjunctive* vowel for the formative plural, which, if *long* in the *nominative plural* is shortened into the corresponding short one, as : plural fem. सुखाञं, 'vows,' formative सुखाउनि ; बेन्नी nom. plural 'servants,' formative बेलिनि; बेलिआं, from this again बेलिअनि; even a form बेलिउनि is in use, which points to the Prākrit nominative plural ī-u. Femi-

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nine themes, ending in ī or ĭ, form their formative plural alike, but changing आं into एं, as : जेड़िऊं 'companions,' formative जेड़िउनि or जेड़िनि, or जेड़िअनि, or जेड़िएं ; in the same way those in ū and ŭ (feminine), as : विक़ूं nom. plural 'scorpions,' formative plural विक़ूनि, or विक़ुअनि, or विक़ुएं ; विज़ु fem. 'lightning,' nominative plural विज़ूं formative plural विज़नि.

The formative plural is identical with the *instrumental*, just as in the singular ; in Sindhī the instrumental proper of the plural has been lost, and it is already a significant fact, that no instrumental plural is mentioned in the Apabhransha by Kramadīshvara ; the cases of the plural have been already considerably confounded in the Apabhransha dialect, and the *genitive* and *ablative* plural are given as identical, and as we now must add, the *instrumental* too. In the modern Sindhī the original genitive was reserved for the instrumental, whilst the genitive by the affix जो was rendered an adjective, and the ablative plural is expressed in the same way as in the singular, by suffixing the inseparable affix आं, अञं, etc., to the formative plural, as, घरनिआं 'from houses,' etc.

In *Marāṭhī* we meet with the same features ; the formative plural ends, as a rule, in आं,[1] just as in Sindhī, with the exception of some themes ending in ū, ŭ, ī, and i, which remain either unchanged in the formative singular, or lengthen final u and i into the corresponding long ones ; such themes retain also in the formative plural the conjunctive vowel of the singular, and only add for the sake of plurality an Anusvāra, as : कवि masc. 'a poet,' formative singular कवी ; plural nominative कवि, formative plural कवीं ; हत्ती masc. 'an elephant,' formative singular, ditto हत्ती ; nominative plural हत्ती, formative plural हत्तीं.

In *Panjābī* the formative plural of all nouns ending in a silent consonant (masculine and feminine), ends likewise in आं, as : manukkhāṅ-dā, etc. ; gallāṅ-dā (feminine), etc. Masculine themes

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[1] The Anusvāra is dropped before the instrumental plural affix नीं, as unnecessary, घरानी 'by houses,' but घरांहीं.

ending in ā form the formative plural in iāṅ (ĭ being a euphonic inter-
polation), as: muṇḍiāṅ-dā, nai, etc.; the same is the case with femi-
nine themes ending in ā, as balāiāṅ-tē, nūṅ, etc.   Nouns (masculine
and feminine) ending in ī and ŭ have the formative plural likewise in
āṅ, as: piŭ, 'father,' nominative plural; pīvāṅ, formative plural;
pālī, 'a herdsman,' singular and plural nominative, pāḷiāṇ formative
plural; māuṅ, fem. 'mother,' plural nominative māvāṅ, 'mothers,'
formative plural ditto, māvāṅ-tē, nai, etc.

In *Hindī* and *Hindustānī* the termination of the formative plural
आं, which we have met with in Sindhī, Marāṭhī, and *Panjābī*, has
been changed into ओं, as: दोस्तों-का, ने, में, etc.; all the oblique
cases of the plural are made up with the same adverbial affixes as
those of the singular.

The *Hinduī*, on the other hand, deviates again very strikingly
from the Hindī in forming the formative plural ; it accedes nearest to
the Sindhī, by using for the formative plural the termination अन् or
अनि, or अन्ह, as: बालकन् or बालकनि, or बालकन्ह; the last
termination अन्ह reminds us most forcibly of the Apabhraṅsha geni-
tive plural ending अहं (हं), before which a final short vowel is *never
lengthened*, as in Sindhī and in Hinduī; but themes, terminating in a
long vowel, may retain the same unchanged in the formative plural,
as: टोटा 'a son,' plural nominative ढोटा or ढोटे, formative
plural ढोटानि; पोथी fem. 'book,' plural nominative पोथीं
'books;' formative plural पोथीन्; or they may shorten ā into ē,
and ī into iy in the formative plural: ढोटेनि; पोथिअन्, बाईन्
or बाइयन् 'ladies,' (formative plural of बाई, 'lady').

We see thus, in spite of all the dialectical discrepancies of the
modern Arian dialects of India, one general principle prevails as
regards their declensional process, which may easily be reduced
through the medium of the Prākrit and Pāli to their common mother
tongue, the Sanskrit; that the declension of the North-Indian ver-
naculars bears no analogy to that of the Drāvidian idioms of the
South, we hope to have sufficiently illustrated.   Many important
points remain still doubtful, and must remain so, until we shall be

able to follow up more closely the development of the several dialects. To this end all the vestiges and inscriptions of the present dialects should be carefully collected and edited, and especially the popular poetry should be made accessible, which always contains a rich store of ancient forms and words. Any labour of this kind would bring its ample reward in the historical and philological investigations which it would invite, and to which it would serve as an unfailing clue.